1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 516 Whenever the Sau is walking about, whoever comes to report drops to the grass cross-legged and stooping, and claps. When he superintends work, the Sau gives imperative orders. When he goes abroad he is given a wide berth. All practice towards him that avoidance which is exercised between father and son of high rank.

644 595 Towards the present Randi Naiau, the nobles are polite but show no fear. The ladies are respectfully familiar, but treat her as a stranger.

Of old, the Lord of Naiau had many wives, but only one bore the title of Lady of Naiau, who was installed at the same time as the Lord of Naiau. Taliai married sisters; upon the death of one who was Lady of Naiau, the second succeeded to the title. The chief wife was also called *lewa mbau* and her house was the chief's. If there was a wife from Mbau she would be Randi Naiau, because Mbau was the greatest state in Fiji.

The other wives are called *i solonga*, a respectful term which means to marry. They obeyed the Randi Naiau. A lady from a state, such as Lomaloma or Totoya, had her individual house. The wives from Lau lived three to five in a house. The cooking was done by the lowborn wives, called kitchen women or servants (*vanda*).

643 The former state of Lords of Naiau must be reconstituted from heresay:

The Lord of Naiau did not go to the wars. He was old and white-haired and stayed at home, and would say "Do this and that; get a kava bowl from Kambara." He did not go about at night. In the daytime he went a little with his elders (*matapule*) to plant; he then came back and kava was made with the nobles from Tonga. This was done every day, and a feast was brought daily from all Lakemba. The people hunted, fished, and made puddings as a kava collation. There was not a day when the old men were absent from the Big House; their clans in turn would make a feast for them.

Formerly, the elders could not look at or speak to Tui Naiau; their mouth had to be turned away and they looked down. They could not speak back, and would clap their hands by way of answer. If asked a direct question, they answered with averted faces. However, in the days of the late Chief, one lady could sit higher than Tui Naiau and speak loud in his presence because her mother was his elder sister . . . There is not a word possible against him; he is Tui Naiau. We only live to work in order that he may eat. If he orders pigs to be brought, they are brought; we are not angry.

643 ●778 The Roko Sau is endowed with miraculous efficacy (mana) towards all, not like lesser nobles to his juniors only.

Thus if a lowborn person lies on the bed of the Chief or uses his cloth, the mana of it infects him; he gets a swollen neck or belly. The Roko Sau touches the place to remove the swelling. A dog once drank the water used by Malani, the Tui Naiau, and got a swollen belly. One village chief, a great courtier, says: "There was no famine under Ratu Finau. There was a famine under Maafu, one time Tongan governor, and a severe one under Ratu Erone, but none now; probably because Ratu Finau's rule is justified in Heaven (*ndonu mai Lomalangi*), because he has given up statute labor and first fruits.

[731]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The village of Lakemba is said to be hard to beat at cricket, because it is the dwelling place of Roko Sau. 643 778

Lakemba is called *a yatho*, "one that has arrived," because it is the place where Roko Sau dwells.

One informant draws a picture of an ideal chief: 643

> Of old, Tui Naiau was as our father. If people wanted manufactured articles they went and begged of him. The people of Lakemba went to the nobleman on whom they leaned for support, and he would take them with their small feast to Big House. It was hard for the chief to refuse a thing: all the food brought to him was distributed among them all.

The chief's dues were described by the following terms: 643 651

> If a chief wanted a thing he told a village to do it. This is called *lala*. [May be translated as requisition, statute labor corresponding to the Sinhalese *rajakariya*, "King's work."] The chief had to feed the people who worked for him, and the feast so made was called *otho*. Formerly a chief killed himself with work on account of his requisitions because he had to attend to the men who came to do statute labor for him.
>
> The *vatongia* of Tui Naiau is defined as "making feasts, statute labor, house building." Formerly, it consisted in planting once a year; for the rest of the year there were only feasts.

The *vakathavathava* is somewhat vague because the Tongans changed so much. It was said to have been a big feast once a year. Each village in turn brought a feast. The term is now used of taxes.

MINOR CHIEFS OF TUMBOU

The head of each clan usually bears a title, which, like that of the High Chief, tends to pass from elder to younger brother. A clan is more commonly designated by the title of their head than by its name. Thus the clan of Narewandamu is usually spoken of as the heralds, or envoys to Mbau. 614 624

The name of the clan of Vale Lailai means the little house as opposed to the Big Door. Two divisions of Little House, namely Tandravula, now extinct, and Narewandamu, are called *mata ni vanua*, "Face of the Land," a term which I propose to translate "heralds." They are the "speech of the nobles." They receive or present food and stuff at feasts and are generally masters of ceremonies. These functions are called *veinggaravi*, from *nggara* "to face," "attend on," "serve," all meanings derived from the fact that in a ceremonial two parties always face one another. The heralds are also envoys to Mbau, and are oftener addressed as Matakimbau than as Matanivanua.

Katumbalevu proper are "indoor heralds" (*mata ni vanua i vale*). They

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776 Malani was young the people used indifferently *kalou* and *tevoro* of the souls
196 of the dead; if the soul of the dead man came they said, "So-and-so has come as a *kalou* (*vakalou*)." The *tevoro vu* are frequently called *kalou vu* to the present day. The Children of Water were formerly known as *kalou rere*.

196 It will be seen that the words *kalou, tevoro, timoni,* do not correspond to any single word in our language. I shall therefore translate them ghost, spirit, god, elf, heathen, as the context may require. As for the word *turanga,* a definiteness may be introduced which is not in the original. A Fijian often would be at a loss to say to which class he is referring.

Miracles

778 The word *mana,* like almost all roots, can be a noun, an adjective, or a
196 verb. It describes supernatural efficiency. Tui Tumbou gives the following explanation of the word: "A *mana* thing is a thing which was from the beginning and is *mana*; as for a spirit (*tevoro*) thing, if we speak to it, then the words of the spirit do *mana*; but if it does not come to pass they do not *mana*. If it is true (*ndina*), it is *mana*; if not true then it is not *mana*. A thing done by spirits is *mana*. In the Solomon Islands things *mana* because they were from the beginning. In Fiji they don't *mana*; they do *mana* once, but if another man uses them they don't *mana*. A Fijian medicine does *mana* if it works; it does not *mana* if it does not work."

The word *mana* is also explained as *yanga,* useful, effective. The opposite of *mana* is *ndai* which means to lie, to deceive, to be strong, to disappoint expectation.

The suffix *ta* makes *mana* transitive, in which case it means to act upon, to affect, as in the phrase: "*A thava e manati iko*" (What ails you?).

Ghosts

775 Ghosts live about graves; in fact a boy defined a grave as a place where ghosts abide. There were several graves within the school grounds so ghosts were quite common there, and much feared, so that people kept away at night. Ratu Finau sent word to my assistant not to go down at night alone to the village as the nobles were buried about there and might do him harm. One boy was afraid of cutting firewood near the graves lest the ghosts smite him; another attributed a swelling in his eye to a ghost from the graveyard among the ironwood trees. They did not like going alone at night because of ghosts. "How is it," I said, "I never see any one?"

"They are afraid of your lantern."

"Sometimes I do not take one."

"Oh! white men if they see a ghost say it is a man."

"Why do not ghosts come into my house at night?"

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Sera, Tui Tumbou's wife got up and said: "I saw Ulupoko; he would not stop in 776
Nggio's house, but wanted to come with me, and got on my shoulder." Some time after Nggio died. If anyone sleeping in Tui Tumbou's house dreamed that Ulupoko jumped on his neck, he would go to another house.

Ulupoko's temple was Nggaraniyalisa on Kendekende and in the old village. He was effective (*yaqa*) in war and in sailing. If a canoe of Tumbou was anchored and a strong wind blew, the owners would go to look at the anchor pole; if they saw a crab of the kind called *komakama* holding the pole to which the canoe was anchored they went away and did not worry. This crab is the embodiment of the god, and the people of Tanggalevu might not eat it.

Tui Vutu is the god of Tuware. He lived formerly at a banyan tree in Vutu and blew his whistles; this ceased when the tree was cut down. His temple was Nakaria. He was a god that originated in Lakemba. Tui Tumbou knows of no animal belonging to him; Emosi says it is the owl.

He of Natavasara was a god (*tevoro*) of Thakaundrove; he was called so because if a man were caught he was immediately cut up (*tava sara*). Some identify him with Kumboavanua of Moala.

One day Tokairambe, going to bathe at Navutoka, took off all his ornaments—shell comb, collar of whale's teeth. The god of Thakaundrove came and carried them off. Then Tokairambe wept: the meaning of those riches was subjection. Tui Vutu came down to salute Tokairambe. "Who's that going away there?" he asked Tokairambe.

"He has taken away my ornaments," said Tokairambe, "if you can overcome him go after him."

Tui Vutu ran after him, and overtook him in Muairisi near Nasangalau or in Wanggatalatha. Tui Vutu called after him, "Eh! you are carrying away our ornaments."

"Yes."

"Leave them. What can you do? Fighting with the club or with the spear?"

"Let us not fight," said the god of Thakaundrove, "let us stretch up to the sky and see who is longer."

"All right," said Tui Vutu, "stand up first." So he of Natavasara stood up and reached the sky, and bent his head down.

"Have you done?" said Tui Vutu.

"Yes."

"All right; my turn to stand." Tui Vutu stood up, reached the sky, bent down to the earth, bent up again till he reached the sky, and bent his head down. The Thakaundrove man said, "You've won; take your ornaments. I am going back to Thakaundrove." Tui Vutu took the ornaments, came back to Tokairambe, who was bathing in Navutoka, and gave him the ornaments.

"You're a man," said Tokairambe, "the spirit battalion (*mataivalu kalou*) is yours. That is why Tuware is the spirit battalion: it is they who go first in war and reed-throwing.

The name of the god of the Lemaki family is not known, only that he was a dog and that the Lemaki could not eat dog nor see one eaten. Should the Lemaki learn that a dog had been baked, after the dog had been taken out of the oven he would put leaves in it, lie on them, and be buried up to the face.

The temple was called Manono. If anyone stole anything the owner 778
brought kava to the old men in the temple. After the kava had been pre-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

778 sented to them nothing further could be done until the matter had been reported to the Lemaki. If he said, "All right, don't kill the thief," they carried two large pieces of bark cloth to the center of the village waving them about (*yalovakina*). Then they tied the bark cloth on sticks which they stuck like flags outside the temple. Then the two old men went inside and saw the souls of the thieves come and stand at the door. Next morning they informed the Lemaki, who told the owner. The thieves then prepared a feast and gifts, and brought them to the temple. If not, they died. If the owner decided they should die he would ask the priest to take the bark cloth into the house of the god, and then they all died in the morning; they howled away and died: the god devoured them. In that case the owner brought gifts to the Lemaki. To make them die, the cloth might also be nailed in a canoe or in a building.

776 There were many small gods (*kalou*) whose names were not even known. There were gods belonging to villages, gods belonging to clans, but no gods of individuals.

There are many stories of personages who are commonly referred to as *tupua*, sometimes as *tevoro*, but whose names are not known. Beyond the legends nothing appears to be known of them at the present day.

775 Tarukua is the only village that has no water. This is why. There was a *tupua* of Kendekende, and a *tupua* of Tarukua. In the course of time the one of Kendekende devised by what means canoes could get to Kendekende. So one day he took a whale's tooth and took it to the god of Tarukua, and proposed that they should dig a canal or ditch from Kendekende to Tarukua to reach the sea, so that when canoes came in they could anchor right at Kendekende. So the god of Tarukua went to dig in Tarukua, and the god of Kendekende dug in Kendekende. They dug on and they almost met at the top of the Great Marsh (Sosolevu): the god of Kendekende came on one side, and the god of Tarukua came on the other, when the cock crowed. The god of Tarukua said, "Good-bye; I am going."

The god of Kendekende said, "Come and take your share of the feast."

The god of Tarukua said, "I won't; it is day; I might be seen."

The god of Kendekende said, "Come and take some sugar-cane."

But he said, "I won't; it is day; I might be seen."

So he ran to Tarukua, and the god of Kendekende ran to Kendekende; they ran in different directions. It dawned and so they did not finish what the god of Kendekende had planned. The place that remains unfinished is a narrow ridge just wide enough at the top for a one man path, connecting the two hills and dividing Tavaungo valley from the Great Marsh. The top looks as though it might be artificial, and it is quite possible that it was built up to make the path easier. The reason why the cutting was not finished is that the god of Kendekende was busy making a feast; that is why his part is short, while the god of Tarukua's is long.

Another story relates that Tui Sosolevu was angry and speared the god of Tarukua. A third version is that the god of Tarukua began the ditch because Tarukua is waterless. He had nearly finished when the god of Kendekende saw him, took a stick, threw at him and hit him; so the god of

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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823 In Tulaki stands a rock about 5½ feet high full of shallow holes. It is
778 called *Vatu Sososo* (Stuffed Stone).

If a man is on his way to Nukunuku he folds up a leaf and puts it in one of the holes saying, "Stuffed stone, stuffed stone, when I get to Nukunuku may there be a pudding," or "greens." It is also invoked in fishing, crab hunting. Anything we wish to light upon." There is no spirit; the world was created and it was there.

NASANGALAU

824 Along the old path from Tumbou to Nasangalau are reeds known as
789 of Tying Reeds (*Ngasau Mbukimbuki*). If the sun is near setting a man will sign (*yalova*) to the sun, then make a knot in a reed and hold it firmly in either hand, nor let it go till he reaches the village, in order that it may remain light till he gets home. It is an ancient tradition.

823 Lower down is the Pot Rest (*Sue ni Kuro*): where are three stones,
789 placed like the stones that support a pot. A man will take three sticks and put one stick between each stone, like spokes of a wheel; he then lights them. When he gets to the village a pot is found ready cooked. This is also original (*e vu tale nga*); it existed when Lakemba arose. These things belong to Natokalau.

VAKANO

539 A long time ago there were many men in Vakano. Then a man of Vakano married a lady of Tumbou, but he would not sleep with her, but slept with other women. She was angry and went to Tumbou. The nobles then ordered the people of Vakano to dig a taro field. They came to Tumbou each carrying one Tahitian chestnut. They threw down their chestnuts, and the pile was higher than the post of the chief's house. When they had finished digging they came to receive the food prepared for them; but it was really a heap of stones covered with sails. Two women touched the heap and felt they were stones and one said, "Alack! alack! the bow of the canoe on which we must embark today." The club struck and the people were slaughtered; only those two escaped. They went and settled above Vatusososo, and kept avenging the massacre of their people by catching young children and baking them. Then they embarked to paddle over to Tuvutha, but they each paddled in opposite directions so that the canoe did not move. Then they carried their canoe to the marsh land where the taro fields of Vakano lie, and set it down, and they died there. That is their marsh land: in the daytime they dig holes and at night they go and pull up mature taro in Tumbou, Yandrana, and other places, plant it, and in the morning they light the oven. Their work is to make a year of the night.

A spirit once came from Thakaundrove and entered the temple of Nautuutu in Tumbou; he went and sat down on the god's bed, which is forbidden. He had a comb stuck in his hair the tip of which projected out of the opposite door. Tui Vakano, coming along, saw it and disliked it because it is forbidden to do so in the chief's house. Tui Vakano seized the tip of the comb and broke it in bits and ate it to grieve the spirit, then turned him out, ordering him not to come again to Lakemba. The god of Thakaundrove ran away; he had wanted to be chief in Lakemba.

The following story is also told:

The ancestor god of Moala came to Vakano and bound Tokairambe, the elder brother of Tui Vakano. He wanted Lakemba to be subject to Moala. Tokairambe

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Kambara

The chief is surrounded by a court of retainers (*tamata ni turanga*), which include his herald, jester (*tamata ni lasa* or *ndauveilakalasai*), go-between in courtship (*ramuaoli*), numerous relatives, and servants. There are also envoys for each island or island group in the chiefdom who are called *mata ki Kambara, mata ki Mothe*, and so forth. 643 644

The high chief and his family live in a compound facing the ceremonial ground in the chief's village of Tumbou, Lakemba. The chief's houses are large and set upon high mounds, a symbol of rank. The chief's houses, his canoes and kava bowls are decorated with cowry (*mbuli*) shells, an emblem of rank. Formerly a strip of barkcloth (*tawake*) attached like a flag to the canoe mast, served as an emblem of chieftainship. 643

The high chief has heavy responsibilities in the maintenance of his clan obligations and ceremonial court life. He has a large number of dependents including many of his relatives and retainers, whom he must feed. Because of the soliciting and *vasu* systems (pp. 62-64, 207-208) he is constantly approached for gifts or loans.

The chief and his court are maintained by a system of tribute collected from the islands of his realm. Much of the tribute is presented at Lakemba by representatives from each island in the form of ceremonial gifts at the marriage, installation, and death of the chief or his near relatives. Collections are made by representatives of the chief or by his sister's son (*vasu*), as when Lakemba takes part in a large ceremonial exchange with one of the other chiefdoms such as Mbau or Rewa. 643 651

The high chief is sacred. As the shrine of ancestor gods of highest rank he has more mana than anyone else in his chiefdom. An elaborate system of tabus protects him. His head, the center of mana, is the most sacred part of his person. It may not be touched, nor may his comb and headrest be used by anyone else. (See 27, vol. 1, p. 25.) Only a man of high rank is allowed to wear a turban (*faufau*) in the village. The chief's wearing apparel and sleeping mats are tabu. Only a chief may wear the long streamers of barkcloth (*tchini puli*) as part of his ceremonial, the chest band (*wambale*), or the breast plate inlaid with mother-of-pearl (*thiva vonovono*). Only a member of the chief's family is allowed to wear a hair ornament of feathers (*tekiteki*). The royal staff (*matanakilangi*), presented to the high chief at his installation, is also an emblem of royalty (27, vol. 1, p. 25). 643 778 784 292

Elaborate rites mark the installation, marriage, and death of a chief. Ceremonies also mark his reception on outlying islands, the payment of tribute, building and launching of a chief's canoe, building of a chief's house, and life crises of members of the chief's immediate family. Many of these ceremonies once involved human sacrifice. 643

For further information concerning the high chief and his court see Hocart (15, pp. 50-58).

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Kambara

776 The hamlet god of Nggilo (Muanaira group) was Mainggilo.

All the hamlet gods mentioned above, except Tapaso, god of Nanggara, recently introduced from Tonga, are spirits which have never lived on earth, rather than ghosts. Besides Nanggara, at least two ranking clans of the land group have ghosts rather than spirits as gods. These are Kamali (p. 111) of Mothe and Vunikoro (p. 111) of Fulanga. It is probable that through contact with the immigrants recently introduced ancestor gods have superseded the old spiritual beings of these groups. Whether all the gods of the early inhabitants were spirits is not known. It is probable, however, that the land people like many Melanesian groups, emphasized the worship of spirits rather than ghosts, while the immigrants, with their highly developed, Polynesian-like ancestor cult, worshipped ghosts almost exclusively.

●778 [782] In times of trouble such as a drought or hurricane the land people worshipped at sacred places (*na sava*) such as sacred caves (*nggara kalou*), sacred stones, and sacred trees, such as the *ngingia* on Kambara. I found no evidence of the presence of god houses (*mbure kalou*, p. 112) before the advent of the chiefs' group.

The main sacred cave of the Kambara land group is the Nggara Kalou (Cave of the God), located in the bush near Undu. In the cave are conch shells sacred to the *kalou*, god of the land people. Concerning the *kalou*, Moto of Undu stated:

> The highest spiritual being of the land people was the *kalou*. He was the source of all mana and as such was worshipped by the land people. Mana was the *kalou* expressed. He was not confined to any one place. He moved about like a mist in the jungle or over the sea. He could not be touched because he had no body. He had never lived on earth nor had human form. He could be contacted most easily in Nggara Kalou (Cave of the Spirit), located near Undu in the bush. The soul (*yalo*) of the *kalou* entered the conch shells in Nggara Kalou. The priest (*mbete*) was the intermediary for the people and the *kalou* and he alone entered the Nggara Kalou. There he prayed for mana and presented offerings received from the people.

Moto's statement may be colored by Christian teachings.

Another sacred cave of the Kambara land group is called Nggara ni Tambua (literally, Cave of the Whale's Tooth). It is located in the bush between Undu and Lomatchi. Informants say that only two men now living have entered it. Its god is said to be nameless, but one of his titles is Tambua Levu. Informants say that Nggara ni Tambua is a title belonging to the island of Kambara. They explain that the whale's tooth represents wealth in Lau and before the introduction of manioc, sweet potato, and other cultivated plants, Kambara was a "cave of wealth" because her timber and fruit trees made her rich in natural resources.

There is a sacred cave on Fulanga called Ndromo ni Tambua. It belongs to the Vandravandra clan.

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Kambara

Conch shells (*ndavui*) were kept in the sacred caves. When propitiated by the priest the god entered the shells. They were then blown by the priest and the blast was considered to be the voice of the god. Moto says that when he was a young man, the land people on Kambara went with the priest to a sacred cave during a drought. After they performed a kava ceremony outside the cave the priest entered and prayed. When he blew the conch shell in the cave the people know he had contacted the god.

Offerings were formerly presented at a sacred stone called Kalou, found in the hamlet site of Toka, southwest of Naivindamu on the shore of the Fulanga lagoon. It consists of an almost cylindrical block of unworked limestone, about 60 cm. high and with a diameter of 35 cm., set on a pile of stone about 30 cm. high. The natives of Naivindamu say the stone contains mana.

Near the site of Onemata on Kambara lies a block of limestone which projects about one meter out of the ground. Here the natives say a man, who is now an ancestor god, entered the stone. The place is sacred.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP

The ancestor cult was introduced into Lau by the group of immigrants who founded the chiefs' phratry. It has become the keynote of Lauan religion. The pattern of ranked clans of the upper class was reflected in a celestial hierarchy of ancestral gods. Ndengei, the snake god of Viti Levu, was the most powerful forefather, because he was the originator of the group. Then came the forefather gods of each noble clan in order of rank which was originally determined by success in warfare. The ancestor gods were war gods, the ghosts of famous warriors. They were propitiated to gain mana for enhancing social prestige, and their eventual rank in the celestial hierarchy depended upon their mana-bestowing powers as reflected in the successes and failures of their clans.

The concept of mana associated with the ancestor cult is strong in the native pattern of thought. According to this concept mana is the vital force or potency which gives superhuman significance to persons or things: to human beings, animals, plants or inanimate objects. Its presence in a person or thing is not attributed to power inherent in the thing itself but to some spiritual force lodging in it. The spiritual force is frequently one of the beings who peopled the superhuman world of the Lauans before the advent of Christianity. The most powerful of these beings were the ancestor gods.

The first-born of each noble clan was the temporary repository of the mana of the clan's ancestral forefathers. The chiefs had the strongest forefathers and the high chief was most sacred because theoretically he received mana from the most powerful ancestor gods.

The ancestor gods of each noble clan were incarnated in from one to three

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769 species of natural phenomena, that is trees, fish, and birds. At least half of the clans studied claimed possession of three species: a species of fish, bird, and 778 tree. The remainder of the clans claimed one or two species, or said they 618 had forgotten their species. Each species was regarded as clan property, sacred to the owners and respected by members of other clans. The natives believed that the soul (*yalo*) of the clan ancestor god appeared in the form of a specific fish or bird of the species owned by the clan. Therefore members [262] of the clan must not harm a member of the clan species. Informants agree that eating one would be like eating one of themselves and would cause the person doing so to become ill and die. They must propitiate the incarnation with offerings of food and kava. It is difficult to obtain information concerning clan animals and plants because many customs concerning them are no [552] longer strictly observed. Moreover, there is a tabu on their names. The generic name of the species belonging to a clan may not be uttered by members of another clan in the presence of the owners. Formerly if a member of another clan mentioned the names of a clan's incarnations in the presence of the owners he was eaten by them. However, each clan species has a title which is not tabu.

The main forefather of the Vuanikathu clan on Kambara was Lekutu Levu (Big Bush), a war god, formerly worshipped by the clan priest in the temple called Nai Langa Mbakola. He was propitiated with human sacrifices in the form of *mbakola* (human bodies to be eaten), with kava and first fruits. Lekutu Levu was consulted by the priest before a clan raid. The Vuanikathu warriors, when threatening to attack a village, would sing:

[726 539]

Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu!	The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!

The god of the Vuanikathu clan was incarnated in the *mavinda* (*Erythrospermum polyandrum*) tree, the barracuda (*ongo*), and the *kaisevou* (a yellow-breasted bird). On Kambara the *mavinda* tree grows only at Longa Mavinda in the bush behind Naikeleanga on land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan. Vuanikathu keeps the land clear under the trees. The *mavinda* does not bear edible fruit but its fragrant flowers may not be picked or worn in wreaths. Even today a member of Vuanikathu may not catch or eat a barracuda. The clan members formerly prayed to the barracuda, not in the god house, but in the dwelling house. *Kaisevou* birds are caught by clan members, rubbed with a piece of barkcloth soaked in perfumed coconut oil and then released. The bird does not nest on Kambara today, but it occasionally comes from the neighboring island of Wangava, where it is common.

The forefather of Mbutonikoro clan of the chiefs' group on Mothe, according to the clan headman, was Ului Lakemba who came to the island six

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generations ago and founded the clan. The main gods of the clan, however, were those of the Vatuwangga clan at Lakemba from whom Ului Lakemba was descended (p. 38; table 2). The gods of Mbutonikoro were incarnated in the *thau* tree, the *kanathe* fish, and the *tchilio* bird. The slogan of the clan was "Kana kana kalou" (*kana*, food; *kalou*, god).

The chief priest on Mothe belonged to the Kamali clan. The foundation of the principal god house, located on the old Kamali hamlet site in west Mothe, may still be seen. It is surrounded by sweet smelling plants. It is still regarded as a sacred place, and as they approach it the Mothe people become silent and remove their turbans and ornaments. The god of Kamali was incarnated in the scaled shark (*nggio thave*), the *vivili*, and the *matamila* fish which were tabu to Kamali. Members of the clan think that the *kaisevou* bird, which is common on Mothe, used to be tabu also. The principal forefather of Kamali is not known but the clan genealogy is traced seven generations back to the priest Mirakilangi. Other priests in the clan pedigree are Malanamailangi, Wanggathiri, Ndolosambau, and Mbatchimalungu.

The main forefather of the Vunikoro clan on Fulanga was called Rokoratu. He built the fortified village of Unduundu. He was worshipped at Mbure Kalou Levu (The Great Temple), called also Mbure ni Kalou Rokoratu, which was located at the old fortress of Unduundu on the hill behind Muanaithake. He was incarnated in the *ulumburu* fish and the *sewa matua* fish which were formerly tabu to Vunikoro.

The chiefs' group believed that toward the west or northwest lay not only the land of their origin but also the abode of the dead (p. 118).

I have concluded from the above that in contrast with the land group the chief group did not possess true totems. They did, however, possess clan ancestor gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena.

THE PRIESTHOOD

A hereditary priesthood is associated with ancestor worship in Lau. It was apparently also introduced by the chiefs' group.

Informants say that in the old days the priests outranked the chiefs. According to tales this was so at the time of the Ndaunisai migration. The following tale, common in Lau, records the division of power between the priests and chiefs:

Nggileso, the chief priest, had two sons, Nggoma and Ndelaivungalei. Nggoma succeeded Nggileso and sent Ndelaivungalei to Naiau for mats to use in the god house. Ndelaivungalei secured the mats but he remained on Naiau and became chief. He had a son named Niumataiwalu and a daughter. Nggoma had two sons. When they reached maturity they were sent to their uncle on Naiau for mats. Nggoma's sons disliked Ndelaivungalei and on the way to Naiau they planned to kill him. They were received at Naiau, and the chief of Naiau asked them for ingredients for a pudding to eat at

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769 793 539 a feast to mark his daughter's nubility. They killed him and his daughter. At this time Niumataiwalu was at Vuna, not on Naiau. The chief of Vuna asked Niumataiwalu to carry a message to Mbau by canoe. He went to Mbau but did not go ashore with the message. At this time Andi ni Levuka, wife of the chief of Mbau, became pregnant by Niumataiwalu. She begged the chief to be allowed to go to Nairai in order to superintend the making of coconut oil. She landed in Nairai and Niumataiwalu proceeded in his canoe to Totoya, where he heard about the murder of his father and sister. The sons of Nggoma had returned to Lakemba. Niumataiwalu immediately returned to Naiau and became successor to his father. For revenge he went to Navutoka. He was met by his cousins. They fell upon each other and Nggoma and his family were killed. Now Niumataiwalu was by power and birth the successor to Nggoma, but he did not take the title of priest. He was the first *sau*, the chief of Lakemba, and the chief of Naiau.

(For a variant of this tale see Hennings, 12, pp. 33-37.)

769 793 After the coming of the chiefs' phratry, control was divided between the priests and the chiefs. Each ranking island had a principal priest clan. The title of the priest (*mbete*) descended by primogeniture from father to eldest son in the first-born line of the priest clan. The priests were the seers who directed the spiritual affairs of the group, while the chiefs were the war leaders. After the Tongan conquest and the introduction of Christianity, the power of the chiefs increased and the title of priest became honorary. First fruits were presented to the chief instead of to the priest. The priest of Mothe, who is the headman of Kamali clan, installs the chief of Mothe today. However, on Kambara and on Fulanga, the only islands visited besides Mothe where the island chief presides over more than one village, the chief is installed by the herald.

The priest had charge of the worship of a clan's ancestor gods (*kalou vu*). He was the intermediary for the people and the god. Since he was influential in securing mana from the god, he was feared and respected. He controlled the activities of the people in warfare, in times of famine, and in sickness, receiving offerings from the people and presenting them to the god according to the *seruseru* ceremonial pattern (pp. 65-66).

[782] Offerings were made by the people to obtain mana which would insure the success of clan activities and avoid trouble. The principal offerings were first fruits, kava, and cooked feasts, including human sacrifices. As a small offering wreaths were presented.

The priest prayed to the god, who presently took possession of him and spoke through him or revealed his will to him by means of a sign or omen. According to Fison (8, pp. 166-167), when a priest was possessed his whole body shook in convulsions and his flesh twitched. After the ceremony the priest and his clan consumed the sacred offerings.

THE GOD HOUSE

769 778 346 Each priest had charge of a god house (*mbure kalou*), a sanctuary where the ancestor god was worshipped. It was a hut built on a high mound flanked

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with limestone or basalt. Each clan had a god house. According to Moto of Undu, the ground plan of the mound as well as the building of the god house belonging to Matasoata clan was oval in shape and about one fathom wide. A curved wall plate (*i lolo*) was not made of joined sections (as in the modern Tongan dwelling house, p. 165), but of several bowed rods (as in the *vale lolova kathukathu*, p. 171). The roof was gabled. God house sites at Lomatchi gardens on Kambara and at Kamali on Mothe also show oval foundation mounds. Outside the god house grew sweet smelling plants which informants say facilitated spiritual contacts and meditation. Fragrance is frequently used for this purpose in Lau, especially in the form of a wreath or powdered sandalwood.

A temple frequently contained one or more ceremonial clubs, which were slightly smaller and shorter than an ordinary throwing club (*i kolo*) and were elaborately decorated with incised carving accentuated with lime. The ancestor god entered the ceremonial clubs, making them sacred. Other weapons belonging to the clan were kept in the clan temple. The weapons of each clan had a title. Those of Matasoata were called Toa Kula, those of Tonganiuthi, Iri Mbuli. Before a raid the priest prayed over the clan weapons and, if the god was willing, his mana entered them and the clan was victorious. If the god did not enter the weapons the people were defeated because the god of the enemy was stronger.

God houses as well as sacred caves (pp. 108-109) and natural objects such as stones or trees in which the god dwelt were called *na sava* (meaning the sacred or purified).

PURIFICATION

Everything directly connected with the gods was sacred, pure, and free from the profane. Everything which was directly connected with women's loss of blood—the menses, first intercourse, pregnancy, and birth—was profane and impure. Sickness and circumcision were profane.

Ritual purification was necessary in Lau before contact with the sacred and after contact with the profane. Purification was accomplished by means of water or smoke. The usual purification pattern was the four-day tabu, lifted by a bath (*i silisili*) in the sea. Moto said that formerly it was observed after killing in war (*veivaluvaluti*) and after murder in peace time (*veivakamatei*). The priest, the only human being possessed by the god, purified himself before approaching the god by a ritual bath in the temple. One tale relates how the priest of Tonganiuthi clan was killed by his own people while bathing because he had been angry when the people failed to bring the first fruits to the god house. Warriors prepared themselves to carry the sacred weapons by abstinence from sexual intercourse for four nights immediately before the raid. Women still bathe in the sea according to the old pattern

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circumcision, ordeals, dancing, license, and distribution of wealth. In 1884 the Nanga ceremonies were no longer performed.

Moto's is the only known evidence of the occurrence of the Nanga outside the area mapped by Fison. No stone enclosures such as those described by Fison were found in Lau. (For further information concerning the Nanga see Brewster, 1, pp. 93-95.)

Luve ni Wai

The Luve ni Wai (Offspring of the Water) is a secret cult found in many parts of Fiji. (See Brewster, 1, pp. 89, 222-225; Williams, 27, vol. 1, pp. 237-239.) It is one medium by which individuals, disgruntled at the new social order, can gain social prestige in the community. The colonial government has attempted to suppress the cult, hence the natives usually deny knowledge of it. One form of the cult is practiced today in southern Lau. A few informants gave the following account of it.

> The cult consists of a few young men, each of whom has demonstrated his ability to procure and hold a personal guardian god who supplies him with mana. The mana is expressed in the form of a special gift, such as the ability to create new dance forms or medicines, to predict the future, interpret the past, or discover new members for the cult. The guardian gods called *luve ni wai* are usually the ghosts of departed ancestors, not spirits, and are today called "devils."

Some informants say they dwell in and near the water, others say they live on land, in water, stars, sky, in fish and trees. Ndengei, Tutumatua, Ndauthina, Ndakuwangga, Rayawa, and Vuthurongayau are important *luve ni wai*.

The following tale is told about Ndakuwangga, the shark god, who became a *luve ni wai*:

> Ndaunisai was the father of Wangganouanoua, who came with Ndaunisai from Viti Levu to Kambara. Wangganouanoua went to Mbenau Island at Taveuni. When the people of the island were hauling a canoe from the shore to the water, Wangganouanoua hid in a hollow tree trunk because he wanted to show the people he was a god. While the god was in the tree trunk, it was used as a roller for the canoe. When Wangganouanoua went aboard the canoe and told the men he had been inside the hollow trunk, they called him Ndakuwangga. He entered a shark. The people began to pray to this god of the shark and called it *luve ni wai* because it was from the water. Since then the shark had been tabu to the Taveuni people. The Kambara people do not eat the shark because the father of this *luve ni wai* came to Kambara.

According to informants, Luve ni Wai rites are carried on secretly in the bush at night. The leader and the members of the cult oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial tapa and wreaths. They take kava to the bush, sit in a kava circle, and prepare the drink ceremonially. The first cup is poured on the ground as an offering to the gods. The leader drinks first. The men call the gods by means of prayers. When the gods come, each enters and possesses his votary. While possessed, the men are insensitive to physical pain. They jump, dance, and club one another.

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part of the house was covered with mats and separated from the rest of the house by a log or by a curtain of Fijian tapa. The couch is rarely used to sleep on. The owner and his wife usually sleep on a pile of sleeping mats (*yambe ni mothe*) just in front of the couch. Other members of the household often sleep on the floor mats in two parallel rows down the central section, their heads toward the center of the house, their feet toward the side walls. Tongan tapa is used as bed covering when needed. Mosquito curtains of tapa are not used in southern Lau.

Wooden headrests (*kali*) are used in Lau, especially by the older men. Intimately associated with the head, which is the center of mana, the headrest is tabu private property. It may not be touched by persons of lower rank than the owner. Headrests are kept in the upper part of the house.

Clan property is stored in the house of the clan headman. Mats and bark-cloth, representing the main wealth of the clan, are wrapped in old mats and tied into bundles (*solesole*) with native rope or sennit. A long, wooden rod is placed over the lower tie beams and the bundles are stored across this rod and the median plate. As many as four bundles in one house are rarely seen and many houses have no bundles at all. Natives say that formerly more wealth was accumulated than today. Rolls of sennit are placed behind the couch or hung in the lower part of the house. If the clan owns a kava bowl it is hung by the sennit hanger with the strainer, in the lower part of the house. Unused kava and food bowls are stored under the couch. They are concealed by the mat covering which hangs down to the floor in front. As far as I could determine there are few whales' teeth in southern Lau. If a clan possesses one of these valuable objects it is hidden away and not hung on the supporting posts in the upper part of the house as in Tumbou, Lakemba. The floor is swept with a broom (*i tavitaviraki*) of midribs of coconut leaflets, made by women. The midrib of a coconut leaflet is cut with a knife from the base to the end of the leaflet. After a pile has been collected each midrib is carefully trimmed. A hand broom is made by binding the midribs with sennit to a short broomstick, row upon row. A roof broom for cleaning the rafters is made by attaching the midribs to a long broomstick.

Vale lolova kathukathu

In small sleeping houses of the type called *vale lolova kathukathu* (pl. 4, *C*), the curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is not made of joined sections as in the Tongan house type, but is made of a rod or several rods bent into place. Informants say that most of the dwelling houses in the old village of Tokalau were of this type. The house is smaller and not so strong as the *vale vaka Tonga*, but it has an oval ground plan. It differs from the *vala vaka Tonga* mainly as follows: First, the two end king posts are embedded in the ground instead of resting on the median plate and the tie beams (which are not so strong

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177 241 life and the inhabitants changed from collectors to gardeners. More recently, maize, Chinese cabbage, onions, and other plants have been added to the list, but these latter have not greatly altered the native diet. Since its introduction in the 177 nineteenth century, tobacco has been in great demand. Men 276 and women smoke as much of the strong Fijian grown weed as they can beg, borrow, or steal. They roll it into cigarettes wrapped in dried banana leaves, and use a burning brand for a light unless matches are available. However, in spite of the great demand, little tobacco is grown in the southern islands. Frequently the natives cannot wait until the local product is dried, and they scorch the green tobacco leaves on coals before smoking them. To dry properly, tobacco leaves must be hung up for several weeks in Lau. During this time they are in constant danger of being filched. Once while explor- ● [778] ing a sacred cave which the natives were afraid to enter, I came upon several pounds of tobacco leaves hung up to dry. A bold and original soul had solved the tobacco problem by allowing his ancestor ghosts to protect his leaves for him.

621 177 476 The economic life of the natives has also been affected by the concentration of the population in coast villages. This separated the people from their gardens and necessitated a journey, usually of some distance, to work the land and harvest the crops. Although the new social grouping did not alter the basic economic unit, which remained the household or the sub-clan, it led to the cooperation of a larger group than heretofore, namely the village, in communal enterprises such as house and canoe building and fishing expeditions.

177 797 805 Other changes due to the introduction of Christianity have had a marked effect on the native economic life. The observation of Sunday and the weekly cycle brought into economic life a regularity later worked into a definite schedule by the colonial officials through native regulations. This weekly schedule is observed today. Saturday is set aside for preparing

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769 It reinforced the desire for prestige, based on rank, success in
797 warfare and wealth, which gave the culture its definite secular bias. These ancestor gods are still feared by many old Lauans today.

769 The ancestor gods were worshipped in temples—small
346 thatched huts with disproportionately high gabled roofs and
778 oval shaped ground plan. The temples were elevated on stone-
793 flanked mounds surrounded by fragrant plants, for fragrance was associated with sacredness in the minds of the natives. In them were kept sacred objects belonging to the clan, such as elaborately carved ceremonial clubs. A hereditary priest officiated at each temple. He propitiated the gods with offerings such as food, kava, whales' teeth, and human sacrifices, especially the bodies of enemies captured in warfare. All that remain today of these temples are the stone-flanked mounds on which offerings are occasionally made secretly.

776 Most of the gods of the upper class were war gods. Before
726 a raid the priest consulted the war gods regarding the auspici-
793 ousness of an attack, and prayed that "mana" be granted the clan warriors and their weapons. Without the approval of the gods the raid would not be successful. If the god responded, the priest's body began to twitch and shake. As the god entered his body the priest writhed in grotesque contortions. He was bathed in sweat. The movements became more and more violent until finally in a queer shrill voice the god spoke through the priest.

787 Williams gives the following account of this spirit possession.
793 "One who intends to consult the oracle dresses and oils himself and, accompanied by a few others, goes to the priest . . . When the party enters, he (the priest) rises, and sits so that his back is near to the white cloth by which the god visits him, while the others occupy the opposite side of the *mbure* (temple). The principal person presents a whale's tooth, states the purpose of the visit, and expresses a hope that the god will regard him with favor. Sometimes there is placed

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when he is about. You know the light *kato* (palm-leaf baskets) that are often thrown away empty about the town. 'Ulupoka' delights to climb into these, and sometimes when there is not a breath of wind one may see a basket suddenly go rolling along across the grass. Then we know that 'Ulupoka' has got into it."

The others all nodded their heads in acquiescence, and murmured "*Sa dina*" ('tis true).

THE FISHING OF THE SACRED "YAWA."

On another night we were speaking of fishing, and of the best-flavoured fish; for when one gets down to the primitive life one's thoughts turn naturally to food, and I was no exception, for there was not much else to talk about.

"The *saqa* is good, and the *kanacé* is good, but the *nuqa* is sweetest of all," said the native magistrate, a noted fisherman, who was sitting next to me.

"True are your words, sir," said a Doi man, sitting opposite; "but I think you cannot have tasted the *yawa*, the great fresh-water fish of Vanua Balavu."

"No. What is that, Rusiate?" replied the native magistrate.

"It is the sweetest fish in all the world, sir," replied Rusiate; "but it is sacred to the people of

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Mavana, and 'tis only fished about once in three years."

"Tell me all about it," I said, scenting a good tale.

Then Rusiate turned to me and began.

"My mother is of Mavana town, so that I count with Vanua Balavu, and, indeed, have only lately come back here to live at Doi, my father's land. And I am of the *mataqali* (tribe) that catch the sacred fish. And the catching of it is thus. When it appears to the priest (that is, of course, to the descendant of the old priests, for there are no heathen priests to-day," he added, hastily) "that the time has arrived for the fishing, he goes to inform Tui Mavana, who is the great chief of all the northern half of Vanua Balavu, the long island. And Tui Mavana gathers together his people, and they take their canoes and work round the coast till they arrive at the deep bay of Masomo. There they disembark, and climb up the sloping hill-side, through the woods, till they come to the marsh of the *yawa*. Then a *buré bolabola* (rough arbour or shelter) is put up at the edge of the swamp and the priest retires inside it. The priest to-day is Juta, the son of Eroni." (I was quietly amused at this naïve confession.) "Then *Yaqona* is made, with much ancient ceremony; and after that a *lovo* (oven of heated stones) of food is prepared, and a

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*539 773 the stone was. Now, it was the custom always of the Tui Cicia to sit on this stone looking on when *mékés* were performed, or at the *Tiqa*[1] matches; and Tui Cicia was there this day. When the men of Butoni came on to the *rara*[2] in front of this stone they started their *méké*, a very fine one with *Dakai*[3] clubs, and about the middle of it, when the onlookers were crying out '*Vinaka, vinaka,*'[4] their leader gave a signal and they rushed on Tui Cicia and the chiefs who were sitting near him and clubbed them to death; and the place is called 'Na Wesi Dakai,' or 'the place of the club dance,' to this day.

"And no Tui Cicia was *buli'd* for a long time after this, as all feared to be called by that title, for it seemed of bad omen. But, at length, some one consulted the priest of Ratu Maibula, and he told them that it was not the title of 'Tui Cicia' that brought evil with it, but that Tui Cicia had been making use of the stone that had always been *tabu*[5] to Ratu Maibula. And [753 778] after that the stone was set up on end and left there and none dared touch it again. And it is now known that if one touches that stone his hand withers and rots, and he will in course of time surely die."[6]

[1] Spear throwing. [2] Village green.
[3] With special shaped heads not unlike the stock of a musket.
[4] Good, good. [5] Sacred or forbidden to others.
[6] I was much interested in the remarks about the stone, as it occurred to me that this might be regarded by the natives as one of the stones alleged to cause leprosy, about which the Hon. Bolton Corney, I.S.O., late Chief Medical Officer of Fiji, has written a monograph.